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NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

Monterey, California



THESIS

SOCIALIZATION OF BLACK NAVAL OFFICERS
BLACK OFFICERS EXPERIENCE A MORE TRAUMATIC SOCIALIZATION
PROCESS UPON ENTERING THE NAVY THAN DO THEIR WHITE
PEERS DUE TO CERTAIN DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE BROADER
BLACK AND WHITE SUB-CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION PROCESS)

by

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December 1980

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T197842

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) (Black Officers Experience a More Traumatic Socialization Process Upon Entering the Navy Than Do Their White Peers Due to Certain Differences Between the Broader Black and White Sub-Cultural Socialization Process)		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Master's Thesis; December 1980
7. AUTHOR(s) Jerry Wilson Ford		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93940		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s)
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93940		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS (if different from Controlling Office) Naval Postgraduate School Monterey, California 93940		12. REPORT DATE December 1980
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 122
		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report) Unclassified
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE
16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report) Approved for public release; distribution unlimited.		
17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)		
18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES		
19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) Black Officers Black Socialization Minority Officers Minority Socialization Socialization		
20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number) This study was undertaken to assess the impact of the organizational socialization process as it pertains to the Black male Navy officers. The intent is to examine whether that process unduly traumatizes these minority officers and to determine if there are factors in the process which might impact negatively upon the recruitment, employment and retention of Blacks and other minorities into the officer ranks.		

Through the use of interviews, archival data, and some necessary subjective evaluations, the impact of the socialization phenomenon was analyzed using the three stage model of socialization: anticipatory stage, entry stage, and adaption stage. This model is based upon that formulated by Dr. M. Louis.

The results of this study suggest that barriers exist to the full adaption of acculturation of Blacks into the officer corps and that these barriers are mostly hidden from both Blacks and Whites. These barriers, it is noted, have little to do with malice but rather are erected and perpetuated through a lack of cultural awareness and literacy on the part of both groups. This study further concludes that Blacks have failed to be fully absorbed into the cultural milieu of the predominantly White officer corps but may have formed a sub-group of differently acculturated officers. This latter premise would suggest that the positive utilization of Black officers leaves much to be desired.

The implication of these findings around the issues of women and other minorities entering the officer ranks along with recommendations for reducing these barriers to adequate socialization are included in the conclusion of this study.

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Socialization of Black Naval Officers
(Black Officers Experience A More Traumatic Socialization
Process Upon Entering the Navy than Do Their White
Peers Due to Certain Differences Between the Broader
Black and White Sub-cultural Socialization Process)

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN MANAGEMENT

from the

NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL

December 1980

ABSTRACT

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I. INTRODUCTION

A. INTRODUCTION

In any organization there are norms, goals, and a "culture" into which a new member must be socialized in order to function properly. The degree to which one becomes fully acculturated or socialized into the organization's culture and the ease with which this takes place will depend largely upon the compatibility of the individual's cognitive orientation with that of the new organization and the quality of that organization's indoctrination process. These orientations result from the broader socialization processes to which the individual has been subjected to up to the point of his or her joining the organization in question. By socialization is meant the process by which someone learns the ways of a given social group well enough so that he or she can function positively in it.

In the past ten years the United States Navy has pursued a policy whose stated aim was to bring Black representation in the officer corps more in proportion to the racial demographics of its enlisted ranks. As of March 1980, Blacks accounted for 10.99 percent of the enlisted strength of the Navy while Black representation in the officer corps was only 2.37 percent. This study was undertaken to examine from a social science perspective the dynamics of what is happening to these Black Navy officers. There is some question about

the degree to which Blacks are being successfully socialized into the officer corps. Underlying the relatively low percentage of Black officers is a larger issue dealing with the Black officer's experience in the Navy. The central questions are: Are there barriers to the adequate socialization of Blacks into the officer corps? Are these barriers presently hidden to both majority and minority groups? Does this account for some of the Navy's inability to absorb Black officers? What effect, if any, does the impact of the Black officer's socialization experience have on future minority recruitment efforts? This last question is based upon the premise that the best recruiters are satisfied members of the organization itself.

Through the use of interviews, archival data, and subjective evaluations, this study examines the socialization process as experienced by Black Navy officers, with emphasis on answering these central questions.

With the increased social and political pressure to have the armed forces more nearly mirror the racial, sexual, and ethnic demographics of the nation, it is hoped that this study may assist in understanding the often subtle complexities involved in successfully moving toward a more heterogeneous officer corps. A look at the demographic projections for the coming decade reveals possibly gross shortages of White males needed to fill billets in both the enlisted and officer ranks as we face the 1981 decade. If these projections

are valid, there will probably be an upsurge in minority personnel recruitment thus increasing the need for minority officers as role models. This will be especially critical where large cadres are concerned. It is the aim of this thesis to, finally, assist in better recruitment, retention, and utilization of Black officers.

B. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

1. General Socialization

There is a basic assumption of human existence that all human societies are dependent on a measure of consensus among their members--consensus about goals to be sought and the means of seeking to attain them [Clausen, 1968]. To achieve this consensus, and through it a stable unity, individuals fit their behavior to the expectations of others; thus acknowledging and, to a degree, conforming to social norms. The process through which this consensus is achieved is known as socialization.

Most simply, the study of socialization focuses upon the development of the individual as a social being and competent participant in the society. The process consists of those patterns of action which inculcate in the individual the skills (including knowledge), motives and attitudes necessary for the performance of present or anticipated roles [Aberle, 1961]. Put another way, socialization is the whole process by which an individual, born with behavioral potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behavior

which is confined to a narrow range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his or her group [Child, 1954]. What this means is that socialization is the process by which someone learns the ways of a given society or social group well enough so that he or she can function within it [Elkin, 1960].

It is interesting to note that the concept of socialization embraces equally the efforts of a society's formally designated socialization agents (parents, teachers, elders, preachers, etc.) to transmit and secure adherence to existing norms and the mutual efforts of participants in all sorts of relationships (peer groups, courtships, marriage, work groups, etc) to establish stable expectations. The net effect of socialization to the norms of a society will depend on the consonance of the participant's norms with those of the larger collectivity [Clausen, 1968]. But what about the individual from a sub-collectivity of the larger group which has been historically stigmatized and rejected to the extent that full participation in the layer group has been traditionally retarded or denied? This is the dilemma faced by most Black Naval officers. Individuals from such groups bear emotional burdens, that Whites too often fail to appreciate.

a. Organizational Socialization

We have been looking at socialization as a society-wide phenomenon. For this study we will be concerned with a much smaller unit: an organization unlike ordinary

institutional sub-units. Here we attempt to analyze the racial dynamics of a unique component of a unique constellation of organizations charged with defense and war. To this end we will be dealing with organizational socialization or the process whereby newcomers come to appreciate the "essentials" of an organization and its culture [Louis, 1980].

The characteristics of organizational socialization are much the same as socialization in general in that it is a process by which an individual comes to utilize the values, abilities, expected behavior, and social knowledge essential for assuming an organizational role and for participating as an organizational team member [Brim, 1966; Van Maanen and Schein, 1979]. It is the aim of this process to maintain a steady state or homeostasis in organizations. Here tradition, historically induced and, imbedded, negatively impacts upon the consciousness of most Black Naval officers, incident to previous socialization in a stigmatized sub-culture.

b. Content of Socialization

There are a number of elements involved here which need deeper exploration. First, in the organizational socialization process there are two distinct kinds of content: role-related learning and a more general appreciation of the "culture" of an organization. Usually there is very little understanding by either the organization or the newcomer of

the need to learn this second element, the culture of the organization [Van Maanen, 1976].

c. Organization Culture

As Geertz points out, the organizational culture denotes an historically transmitted pattern of meanings embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men and women communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life [Geertz, 1973]. Gamst and Norbeck state that an organization's culture conveys important assumptions and norms governing membership, values, activities and aims [Gamst and Norbeck, 1979]. These norms and assumptions are collectively shared and interactively emergent. They are enacted rather than spoken [Mead, 1970; Schutz, 1969]. Essentially, then, an organization's culture is a cognitive frame of reference and a pattern of behavior transmitted to members of the group from previous generations of that group [Beres, 1979]. Organizational culture conveys to members of a particular organization a cognitive map of how things are done and what matters in the organization [Louis, 1980b]. The Black member due to only partial participation in the United States socialization process--may possibly violate subtle norms, unwittingly.

A new member of an organization is typically unfamiliar with the local interpretation schemes of the new setting and is usually unaware of both the need to understand

context-specific meanings and the fact that he or she is unfamiliar with them [Van Maanen, 1976]. This occurs to even members socialized in the mainstream on first entry into the organization. In some cases major changes in one's orientation to life are demanded in order to fully understand the new organization. Additionally, rather than building on existing personality structures, it is sometimes necessary to replace earlier learning with later [Brim, 1968]. Many of the behaviors taken for granted by White majority group members find weak inculcation among Blacks as such behaviors were not positively reinforced nor found useful in the sub-cultural milieu in which Blacks are socialized.

d. Group Dynamics

A Second element that requires some closer scrutiny is group dynamics; specifically, the dichotomy which may exist between identify group and organization group. As noted by Alderfer in his recent study, a group in organizations may be defined as a collection of individuals (1) who have significantly interdependent relations with each other, (2) who perceive themselves as a group by reliably distinguishing members from non-members, (3) whose group identity is recognized by non-members, (4) who have differentiated roles in the group as a function of expectations from themselves, other group members, and non-members, and (5) who, as group members acting alone or in concert, have significantly interdependent relations with other groups [Alderfer, 1980;

230]. Members of organization groups are assigned similar primary task or share equivalent levels of responsibility.

On the other hand, identity group members share common biological characteristics, participate in equivalent historical experiences, and, as a result, have similar world views.

From this we see that there are at least two groups with which any member of an organization will be a member: his or her organization group and his or her identity group. It goes almost without saying that each person is simultaneously a member of all of his or her identity groups and at the same time all of his or her organization groups. The group he or she represents at any given time depends on the particular intergroup context in which the individual is found. People carry identity group memberships and their consequences from organization to organization, while organization group membership depends on an individual's relationship to a particular organization. Every group member is a group representative whenever he or she deals with members of other groups [Rice, 1969].

With this in mind, it must be pointed out that the aim of organizational socialization is to have the newcomer internalized the local status quo, the perpetuation of which is thus reinforced. Through this process the newcomer passes from foreigner to native in the organization.

Socialization takes place for the most part voluntarily as the new member ideally seeks out others in his or her same position and gets and gives feedback or progress, problems, etc. [Brim, 1968]. Thus, the truly acculturated or socialized individual internalizes the local culture and reflects the historical image of the organization [Louis, 1980a]. Here one must pose the question "Is it possible for Black Naval officers to be completely socialized in light of the foregoing premises, when their position in the U. S. society is considered?"

It must be noted at this point that organizations remain dynamic and functional through change. This change is often the result of the infusion of new members into the organization who do not become fully acculturated but remain different or "deviant". Although such deviance can be explained as the consequence of poor socialization [Clausen, 1968], it is vital, if an organization is to avoid stagnation, that such cases of poor socialization occur as long as their occurrence does not become destructive to the continuation of the organization. Therefore, it is important to understand that conformity to rules and behavior patterns is not, in and of itself, evidence of successful socialization.

Socialization theoretically is a two-way street. But the organization's impact on the new member is usually much greater than a new member's impact on the organization. This initial impact on the newcomer tends to set the tone, to color his or her perception of the organization for an extended

period and may or may not be a correct perception. The newcomer does not learn the organizational culture in a detached way. Rather, the individual immerses in the culture and comes to view the setting through the dominant perspective [Louis, 1980a].

Most orientation programs for new members focus on occupational skills (role-related learning) but are not aimed at socializing the newcomer in the important areas of values and interpersonal behavior (Culture learning) [Brim, 1966]. As noted, socialization may not only involve adding to roles but may also involve leaving another role. Most programs for newcomers completely neglect this "changing from" aspect [Louis, 1980b]. This is almost a certainty in the socialization of Black Naval officers as the pseudo-liberal myth, "we treat everybody the same," prevents, in far too many instances, the "changing from" process from even being addressed.

e. Stages of Organizational Socialization

(1) Anticipatory Stage. In her work in the area of career transitions, Dr. M. Louis suggests that there are three distinct stages of the organizational socialization process as experienced by the newcomer. The first stage is anticipatory socialization. This stage takes place prior to actual entry into an organization and is fostered by the newcomer forming in his or her own mind ideas about what the new organization will be like and what his or her role will be.

Inputs to this stage come from a variety of sources including former organization members, those people associated indirectly with the organization and from historical information the newcomer may have about the organization.

(2) Entry Stage. This stage is traumatic for all persons. It is extra traumatic for a person reared as an "outgroup" member whose value system may differ markedly.

(a) Change. The second stage of the process is the entry or encounter stage. It is during this most complex stage that a number of phenomena happen to the newcomer. There is the CHANGE experience in which the new member begins role-related learning. Here the individual gains an understanding of the critical organizational values in order to identify essential or pivotal role behaviors, those which must be performed to avoid expulsion [Schein, 1978]. This element of the entry stage takes place in an objective manner and is possibly easiest on the newcomer since many of the things involved here are publicly noticeable and knowable and are often knowable in advance by the newcomer.

(b) Contrast. A second element on this entry stage is a subjective one termed CONTRAST. It is this phenomenon which causes the new member to "notice" things he or she had not anticipated noticing. This is a person-specific, subjective element and represents the new member's reaction to the new setting. An example of CONTRAST might be

the noticing by the new member that his new office has no windows and that sitting in such an office makes the new member feel secure.

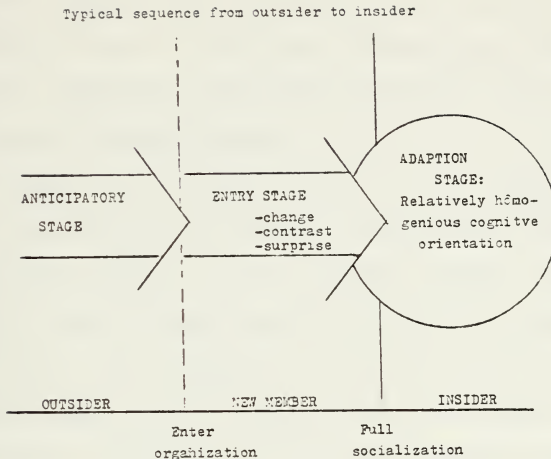
(c) Surprise. The third element of this stage is perhaps most difficult to assess. It is called SURPRISE. This is defined as the difference between what the newcomer anticipated and what he or she actually experienced. Surprise typically stimulates both affective and cognitive reactions requiring that the newcomer update his or her assumptions formulated in the anticipatory stage. Failure to do this updating can have serious effects on the newcomer's psychological field. What must be done here is for the new member to retroactively explain why things did not follow his or her cognitive "map" or "script" of how things should work at the new organization.

(d) Sense Making. In making sense of his or her new situation and its environment, the individual relies on a number of inputs including past experiences, predisposition to attribute causality to self, to others, or to fate, his or her identity group-based cultural assumptions or interpretation schemes, and feedback from others. It would seem that insiders would be a rich source for this feedback. For the member of a sub-culture denied basic cultural participation except in his/her own group, making sense requires a harder conceptual effort.

As noted by the work of Lewin [1951] and Argyris [1964], unfreezing or letting go is a necessary preliminary step in effecting change at both individual and group levels. There has been extensive anthropological work done in the area of leave taking and transaction rituals [Van Gennep, 1960; Turner, 1968]. The question here though is does a Black officer dare to "let go" fully. Most experienced Black officers indicated by their responses that Blacks dare not.

(3) Adaption Stage. The final stage of the socialization process is the adaption stage. This stage manifests itself when the newcomer has the feeling of being an insider in the organization. Here a real problem exists for Black Naval officers as few ever feel like members of the "in-group." Further, only a few Whites perceive Blacks as such. How complete his or her adaption is will depend on the individual, his or her tenure in the organization, the congruence between his or her identity group's culture and the organization's culture [Louis, 1980]. No person comes to an organization without a cultural past. Furthermore, probably no person is ever fully aware of more than a small segment of the total culture of his society. From this, it is doubtful that any person is at home in all of the adult groupings of his or her society unless that society is quite small [Hall, 1979; Clausen, 1968]. Figure 1 below shows the socialization sequence.

FIGURE 1



(4) Conscious Thought. Due to the nature of the elements of socialization, conscious thought comes into play only when outcomes are inconsistent with anticipated outcomes. Usually people do not sit down and think about what is going on but follow their usual, unconscious, pattern of behavior. When things happen out of the ordinary, then conscious thought takes place [Louis, 1980b]. Things perceived as out of the ordinary happen with greater frequency for the "out group" member, than for the "in group" member.

2. Socialization of Black Americans

Since this study concentrates on the socialization of Black Navy officers, the issue here is a thorny one. It is compounded by the fact that multi-disciplinary efforts by behavioral scientists are relatively new to the field of organizational socialization.

Basic to the issue is the fact that America has as a part of its cultural development produced the virulent seed of historical and politically induced racism. We, as a country, as a result have treated minorities badly throughout most of our history. The treatment of the Red Indian as historically documented reads like a list of horrors so gross as to be unbelievable. The abuses against the Japanese and the Chinese are well documented although not found in the standard textbooks [Daniels, 1970]. The early enslavement of the Black race, their subsequent stigmatization and their position in the social strata today is easily discernible.

Beyond this, it would appear that the more non-white the minority or darker the pigmentation, the more cruel has been traditional treatment. In a scheme where color is a major determinant of positive acceptance, the Black's place in the social strata--is a foregone conclusion. Blacks, unlike other groups, have never become part of the American melting pot [Ginzberg, 1967]. For Black Americans it has been as James Baldwin so vividly describes in his book, The Fire Next Time:

"You were born where you were born and faced the future that you faced because you were Black and for no other reason. You were born into a society which spelled out with brutal clarity, and in as many ways as possible, that you were a worthless human being" [Baldwin, 1963, p. 21].

Another Black writer, Richard Wright, spells out the same message in his powerful and now classical book, Native Son.

There is little question that the Black American has been the object of the most sustained and cruelest blows dealt by this society. The solidarity of anti-Black prejudice and the exploitation of the American Black have been consistent throughout his long stay in America. Change towards Black Americans has been more one of sophistication in prejudiced usage than of substance. And, with a slave heritage, a systematically directed assault upon the family, and long dependence on Whites, Blacks had been relatively helpless to combat their imposed status in any organized way in this country [Daniels, 1970], until the Brown Decision of 1954 ushered in what became known as the Negro Revolt.

Blacks were brought to the Jamestown Colony as servants in 1619, but their legal status as slaves did not formally exist in that colony until 1661. In Maryland, 1641 marks the date when legal slavery came into being [Jacobs, 1971; Franklin, 1966; Bennett, 1966]. Conservative estimates of the number of Blacks brought to the "New World" during the three and a half centuries of the slave trade place the figure at 15,000,000. One source suggests that counting those

killed in wars and raids in Africa and in the horrors of the Middle Passage, the trans-Atlantic slave trade cost Africa as many as 50,000,000 people [Meier, 1966]. The slave trade in America was officially ended by Congress in 1807. At this time the so-called civilized nations of the world met at The Hague in the Netherlands and agreed to end the trade in human beings. The United States became party to that agreement but "winked" at this trade until the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 freed Black slaves. To the extent that the effects of slavery on both Blacks and Whites in this country are not recognized, they remain embedded in the American psyche [Jacobs, 1971]. It is a sad commentary to note that during slavery Blacks had been basically unprotected from the whims of sadistic Whites, but at least they were considered valuable property by many. This did mitigate against the cruelty utilized to control them. After reconstruction (1877), all safeguards to life and security for Blacks were removed. Between 1885 and 1894, it is estimated that 1700 Blacks, of record, were lynched. America's "Manifest Destiny" within and abroad, with its assumption of inferiority of all colored races, bolstered racism and racist violence at home. Yet today, even so-called educated White Americans ask, "Why can the Blacks not make it as did the Germans, the Irish, the Jews, the Orientals and other immigrant groups?" There are a number of answers to that question.

First, the White immigrant can, in a generation or so, fairly successfully merge with the general population if he wishes. All that White immigrants must do to find acceptance is learn English and lose their brogues. In addition to this, the overt tension between Whites and Blacks has tended to blur differences between White ethnic groups to "promote" all White people above Blacks [Daniels, 1970]. What most White people do not understand or accept is the fact that skin color has such a pervasive impact on every Black person's life that it subordinates considerations of education or class [Ford, D., 1975]. More simply stated, discrimination against Blacks which ranges from the crudest to the most sophisticated usage, means that the majority of Blacks have less opportunity, earn less, attend poorer schools, and live in less desirable areas. Thus their life styles tend to diverge from that of the majority rather than converge in a manner conducive to integration. This "cycle of validation" has serious consequences for the Black American. Breaking this chain of events is what the civil rights movement of recent years is all about.

It suffices to say that Blacks have served in the armed forces of this nation since the Revolutionary War and before. Harry Truman's Executive Order No. 9981 of July, 1948 abolished discrimination in the United States Armed Forces and the Civil Rights Act of 1964 as subsequently amended in 1968 and 1972 along with the Affirmative Action Plans of the 1970's have helped by enhancing the chances for Blacks to

become full participants in the American Dream. Militarily, there appears a bit of validation when we view the Black officers personnel picture. In 1962 there were 174 Black Navy officers. This figure represents 0.24 percent of the Navy's officer corps at that time. Blacks accounted for 5.22 percent of the Navy's enlisted strength in 1962. As of March 1980, the percent of Black officers in the Navy is 2.37 percent while Black enlisted make up 10.99 percent of enlisted personnel. To the Black community this represents, economically, better opportunity for both the middle-class, better educated Blacks and others. In the broader society, too often, Blacks remain "the last hired and the first fired, except for the highly educated few."

It is important to understand how the socialization agents in the Black community see the Navy. To gain some insight into this, this researcher contacted a Black Professor and sought insight on this matter. According to Professor Chester Wright of the Naval Postgraduate School, the historical roots of negative Black belief began in the aftermath of World War I. The period after the war, in 1919 in which occurred race riots to the extent that historians labeled that period "The Red Summer of 1919." During that period, race-riots flared from Washington, D.C. to Green River, Wyoming, East and West and from Omaha, Nebraska and Chicago where the city did not function for two weeks and, Charleston, South Carolina where White sailors killed Black

citizens and attempted to burn the Black community. What is highly relevant to any Navy effort at eradicating the current negative image operant in minority communities is that they know that in these three most publicized riots Navy men were principal instigators. Sailors and Marines started the Washington riot and then Secretary of the Navy, Josephus Daniels of North Carolina refused an NAACP request to restrict sailors and marines to their bases in the Washington area.

Sailors were depicted by both the "Chicago Defender" and the "Pittsburg Courier", the only nationally distributed Black newspapers in the United States at the time, as helping to beat-up the hopeless Blacks caught downtown in the Chicago "Loop." These victims could not reach the South side as they were cut off by the rapidly spreading riot. The wide circulation of these two papers caused, possibly, most Blacks in the country to see White sailors as racist.

At Charleston, the marine detachment had to turn sailors at bayonet point to prevent the Black community from possible total destruction as the Charleston law enforcement was overwhelmed. There are few Black grandmothers who do not know of this infamy on the Navy's part.

World War II and on July 17, 1944 an incident occurred at the Naval Magazine, at Port Chicago, California that angered and electrified the Black race in the United States. It is historically significant that on June 25, 1947, President Roosevelt issued Executive Order #8802 which allowed Blacks to

enter the Seamanship, Air and Fireman branches of the Navy for the first time since 1919 (WWI). Expectations in the Negro community were raised to the heights only to be dashed by the revelations after the Port Chicago incident. It was revealed that instead of the Navy acting in good faith it had by gentlemen's agreement failed to obey its commander in chief. Instead of sending Negro sailors to sea, Professor Wright says, with tongue-in-cheek, "We weren't Black yet," the Navy had made them serve in labor battalions at its most dangerous facilities (Magazines at Yorktown, Virginia and Port Chicago, California). Low morale on the part of White officers transmitted to their hapless Black charges is believed to have caused what came to be known as the Port Chicago Blast. In any event, the seaward side of Port Chicago magazine blew up with such violence that it was destroyed along with a Navy ammunition ship and two trains.

When the casualties were counted, of 265 men killed, 250 were Negroes--casualties far out of ratio of Negroes to Whites in the Navy. The Negro community became enraged at this Navy deception and its tragic results. The NAACP entered the fray when Negro sailors refused to resume loading ammunition and were tried for mutiny. This was the first recognized mutiny in the United States Navy since the Sommers Mutiny of 1842. This incident dominated the Negro press for months and to a lesser extent, years, as able NAACP lawyers fought the case all the way to the Court of Military Appeals. Negro

grandmothers, socialization agents for the current pool from which this generation of Black Naval officers must be drawn, are cognizant of this Navy incident.

During the closing phases of the recent war in Vietnam, racial incidents aboard the Pacific Fleet Flag ships U.S.S. Kittyhawk and her sister ship, U.S.S. Constellation, added credence and tended to solidify in Black consciousness the perception of the Navy, as racist, for this generation of Blacks. All these facts were verified through review of The Black American Reference Book [Smythe, 1976].

The post Zumwalt Navy has stepped ahead to the extent that many of the perceptions held by the Black community might be in error. This is not to say that the Navy has corrected all its problems involving racism. What needs to be done is for the Navy to do a better job of selling its Human Resources Programs via education in the Black community as to what the Navy is currently doing. A more sustained and vigorous effort is indicated to introduce the Black community to the Navy equal opportunity manual which spells out the rights of minorities.

This study is aimed at looking at the socialization of Black officers in the Navy. Little if any work has been done in this specific area although recent studies conducted in the private sector have some relevance here. The work done by Alderfer was done at a large organization with an aim towards eliciting the perceptions of both Black and White

managers. However, these studies fail to look at socialization and its impacts on Blacks explicitly, as they move into positions of leadership in a White structure. Hopefully, this study will help to focus more serious research on this area.

II. METHODOLOGY

A. CONDUCT OF THE STUDY

This study was conducted through the use of an open-ended type of questioning of Black Navy officers. Prior to the interviews, each participant was informed that his responses would remain anonymous. At the conclusion of the interview each respondent was given the opportunity to review the written and/or taped comments as noted by this researcher to ensure that remarks were accurately recorded. The interviews were conducted in private in one-on-one situation with considerable energy being expended by this researcher to ensure that the interviewee was relaxed and at ease. Each interview lasted from 45 minutes to 90 minutes. All interviews were conducted between 10 August 1980 and 20 September 1980, among a broad cross section of experienced Black officers who by Navy standards must rank among the most intelligent in the service, as 50% were postgraduate students. This researcher--a 37-year old, Black, male, Navy Lieutenant Commander (O4) from the surface line community--conducted all interviews in person in civilian attire. With the consent of the respondent, a tape recording was made of most interviews. During preliminary discussions with each respondent, this researcher revealed his own background and urged honesty and candor on the part of the respondent in answering the interview questions. With possibly few exceptions, the

participants in this study are believed to be both honest and candid in their responses. So much so, in fact, that this researcher was sharply reminded of his own reference group and found some difficulty in conducting more than three interviews per day without suffering some emotional stress, as hurts long forgotten tended to inevitably surface regardless to discipline effort on the author's part. At the conclusion of each interview, respondents were again reminded that their responses would remain anonymous.

B. THE SAMPLE

The sample for this study was drawn from the population of Black, male, Navy officers serving on active duty in the pay grades of O2, O3, and O4. Ensigns (O1), females and other branches of the service were excluded from the sample to prevent contamination and to have a sample which represented those officers who were supposedly "insiders" and who had followed fairly closely the "traditional" Navy career paths.

The sample size was thirty ($N=30$) with 60 percent from the surface line community, 20 percent from the supply corps and the remaining 20 percent from the limited duty (LDO), aviation, or special warfare communities. The ages of the respondents in this sample ranged from 25 years to 39 years of age with the mean age being 30.5 years old. Time in service (including any enlisted time) ranged from a minimum of 4 years to a maximum of 18 years with the mean time of service being 8.96 years.

The sample included Black officers attending the Naval Postgraduate School at Monterey, California in a variety of disciplines and Black officers serving at various commands in the San Diego area. This sample represents 2.3 percent of the population of Black, male, Navy officers on active duty as of 31 March 1980.

C. THE INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

For this study a set of six basic open-ended questions developed by this researcher and his advisor was used. As the respondents answered each basic question, this interviewer used that reply to ask additional questions around the primary issue of organizational socialization in the Navy. Due to the nature of this study it was felt that existing questionnaires would not get at the desired information. Most models tended to be too restrictive for ferreting out the real feelings of this unique population. The underlying areas of role-related learning and culture learning were approached in this same manner. Appendix A shows the interview package used.

At the end of each interview this researcher subjectively evaluated each respondent on a scale of from 1 (low) to 5 (high) in two areas: tour satisfaction and likelihood of staying in the Navy. We felt that these two basic areas would possibly, elicit the real feelings germane to this inquiry.

D. ANALYSIS

Initially, each respondent was subjectively rated on a 1 (low) to 5 (high) scale indicating his apparent degree of satisfaction with the Navy thus far. The respondents were also subjectively evaluated, using the same 5 point scale, as to the likelihood that he would stay in the Navy.

These subjective evaluations were then reduced to a low or high rating as noted in Appendix B, Table II.

The author used a variety of computer programs to arrive at the descriptive and statistical analysis of the codable data. The seven variables (age, source, grade, years of service, Navy community, likelihood of staying in, satisfaction with the Navy thus far) used for this analysis are as listed in Appendix A, Table II.

A content analysis was conducted on the interview data and representative responses pertaining to the stages of the organizational socialization process were recorded and grouped under three categories: anticipatory, entry, and adaption. Under the entry category, responses were further sub-divided into the three sub-categories of change, contrast, and surprise.

Sense making or coping responses were then extracted from the interview material and listed separately. Additionally, responses pertaining to role-related learning and culture learning were extracted and listed for analysis.

III. RESULTS

A. SUBJECTIVE EVALUATIONS

The subjective evaluations of the sample with regards to likelihood of staying in the Navy and satisfaction with the Navy thus far are listed in Table II, Appendix B. Using a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high) more than half the sample (17 of 30) are evaluated as highly likely to continue in the Navy while only 4 respondents are evaluated as being unlikely to continue. Probably another much needed study area, which time constraints obviously prevent here, is needed. It would be highly germane to the Navy's future procurement of Black officers to know why the majority of the sample elected to stay under the circumstances.

As noted in Table II, nine of the sample members are evaluated as being highly satisfied with the Navy thus far while 16, or a majority, are appraised as being somewhat neutral about their Navy experience. Only one respondent is evaluated as being dissatisfied.

1. Recoded

By recoding these evaluations from the 1 to 5 scale and by assigning those evaluated as either 1, 2, or 3 a value of 1 and those evaluated either 4 or 5 a value of 5, these subjective evaluations stand out more dramatically as shown in the bottom half of Table II. This recorded scale shows that 19 members of the sample are evaluated as having a high

likelihood of staying in the Navy while 11 are evaluated as having a low likelihood of staying.

Using the same technique to recode the satisfaction with the Navy evaluations indicates that 17 of 30 are evaluated as being at best neutral about their experience in the Navy while 13 are satisfied.

2. Summary of Subjective Evaluations

From this we can summarize that while the majority of the sample (17 of 30) are evaluated as being not overjoyed or completely satisfied with their career choice, thus far, 19 of 30 are evaluated as being likely to continue.

B. STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

1. Correlations

The results of the statistical analysis of the data yielded the results listed in Appendix C. Table I of Appendix C shows the correlations (R) arrived at through the comparison of each of the seven variables with each other. Five objective variables including age in years, source of commission, pay grade, Navy community, and years of service, were correlated with the two subjective variables of satisfaction with the Navy thus far and likelihood of staying in the Navy. Selected correlations with their significance (P) are displayed in Figure 2 below.

FIGURE 2

CORRELATIONS OF SEVEN VARIABLES

<u>VARIABLES</u>	<u>CORRELATION R</u>	<u>SIGNIFICANCE P</u>
Pay grade with satisfaction with Navy	-0.208	0.14
Likelihood of staying with years of service	-0.141	0.26
Source of commission with likelihood of staying	-0.099	0.30
Pay grade with likelihood of staying	-0.066	0.37
Age in years with likeli- hood of staying	-0.056	0.38
Age in years with satisfaction	0.011	0.48
Likelihood of staying with community	0.052	0.39
Satisfaction with years of service	0.163	0.23
Source of commission with satisfaction	0.243	0.10
Likelihood of staying with satisfaction	0.386	0.39
Age in years with pay grade	0.460	0.00
Age in years with years of service	0.839	0.00

a. Summary of Correlations

As can be seen, these results fail to yield statistically significant correlations. This lack of significance can be attributed in part to the small sample size and to the recoding of the subjective variables. A more extensive study using a larger sample might yield results of greater significance.

2. Cross Tabulations

Tables IIA through IIJ of Appendix C display the results of the cross tabulations between the subjective evaluations--likelihood of staying in the service and satisfaction with the Navy thus far--and the objective variables age in years, source of commission, pay grade, Navy community, and years of service. A low (1) of high (5) value for the subjective variables was used in constructing these cross tabulations. The tables show the number of respondents in each category who were evaluated as either low or high for the subjective measures. Figure 3 below shows the cross tabulation results for pay grade and likelihood of staying in the Navy and for pay grade and satisfaction with the Navy.

FIGURE 3

CROSS TABULATIONS WITH PAY GRADE

<u>LIKELIHOOD OF STAYING</u>				<u>SATISFACTION WITH THE NAVY</u>			
		<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>			<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
PAY	O2	0	3	PAY	O2	0	3
GRADE	O3	9	11	GRADE	O3	13	7
	O4	2	5		O4	4	3

a. Likelihood of Staying

Of particular relevance to this study of socialization are the results of Table IIA, shown below, in which is displayed the cross tabulation of age in years and the likelihood of staying. In this table we note that almost all age groups are evaluated as overall high for likelihood of staying in the Navy with the exception of the 37-39 year olds which are evaluated as low. Why this is so should be of major interest to Navy senior commanders and rests on the answers to two cardinal questions: (1) Have those Black officers given up as to future promotion? or, (2) Have Black officers acquired cynicism about ever achieving full social acceptance by their White counterparts?

TABLE IIA
WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY?

<u>AGE IN YEARS</u>	<u>LOW PROBABILITY</u>	<u>HIGH PROBABILITY</u>
25-27	2	2
28-30	5	8
31-33	2	3
34-36	1	3
37-39	1	0

As might be expected, we see an almost identical pattern in Table IIE which shows the cross tabulation of years of service and likelihood of staying in the Navy. From the table, it

appears that overall the period of highest likelihood of staying in the Navy occurs between 9 and 12 years of service for this sample.

TABLE IIE
WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY?

<u>YEARS OF SERVICE</u>	<u>LOW PROBABILITY</u>	<u>HIGH PROBABILITY</u>
4-8	5	8
9-12	1	6
13-18	2	1

Table IIB, which displays the cross tabulation of commission source and likelihood of staying in the Navy, suggests that source of commission does not impact on the likelihood that one will stay in the Navy. Additionally, Table IID suggests that the specialization (i.e., air, surface, staff, etc.) or Navy community to which an individual belongs has little or no bearing on the likelihood that he will stay in the Navy.

TABLE IIB
WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY?

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOW PROBABILITY</u>	<u>HIGH PROBABILITY</u>
Navy Cad	0	1
OCS	7	11
ROTC	2	4
NESEP	1	1
OTHER	1	1

TABLE IID
WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY?

<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
Surface Line	7	11
Supply	2	4
Other	2	4

The cross tabulations of pay grade and likelihood of staying in the Navy shown in Table IIC indicate that of the three grades interviewed, lieutenants (O3's) have the lowest percentage of people who are likely to stay in the Navy (55 percent) while 72 percent of the O4's and 100 percent of the O2's are likely to remain in the Navy according to the data.

TABLE IIC
WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY?

<u>PAY GRADE</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
O2	0	3
O3	9	11
O4	2	5

b. Satisfaction with the Navy to Date

The cross tabulations of interest as far as satisfaction with the Navy is concerned are those for source of commission (Table IIG), pay grade (Table IIH) and community (Table II.I). For our sample, it can be noted that the one naval academy graduate along with most of the OCS graduates

(11 of 18) appear to be less satisfied with the Navy than are the personnel who joined and were commissioned through ROTC, NESEP and from other sources.

TABLE IIG
HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY?

<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
NAV. CAD	1	0
OCS	11	7
ROTC	3	3
NESEP	0	2
OTHER	1	1

Just as the lieutenants (O3's) were least likely to stay in service so, too, are they the least satisfied with the Navy as noted in Table IIH. It can also be noted that of the O4's of this sample, 57 percent seem less than satisfied with their time in the Navy thus far while all three O2's are evaluated as highly satisfied. Again we observe a converse ratio between time in service and real satisfaction.

TABLE IIH
HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY?

<u>PAY GRADE</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
O2	0	3
O3	13	7
O4	4	3

Table II.I, which displays Navy community and satisfaction, shows that the surface line respondents are less satisfied with the Navy than are those respondents from the supply corps or other communities. It would be interesting to know if Black officers other than supply (i.e., doctors, nurses, engineers, dentist, etc.) shared this positive sentiment.

TABLE II.I
HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY?

<u>COMMUNITY</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
Sur. Line	11	7
Supply	3	3
Others	3	3

Age of the respondents (Table IIF) and number of years of service (Table IIJ) fail to yield any significant patterns when cross tabulated with satisfaction with the Navy.

TABLE IIB
HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY?

<u>AGE IN YEARS</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>	<u>AGE IN YEARS</u>	<u>LOW</u>	<u>HIGH</u>
25	0	1	32	3	0
27	2	1	33	1	1
28	3	2	34	0	1
29	4	1	35	1	1
30	1	2	36	0	1
31	1	2	39	1	0

TABLE IIJ
HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY?

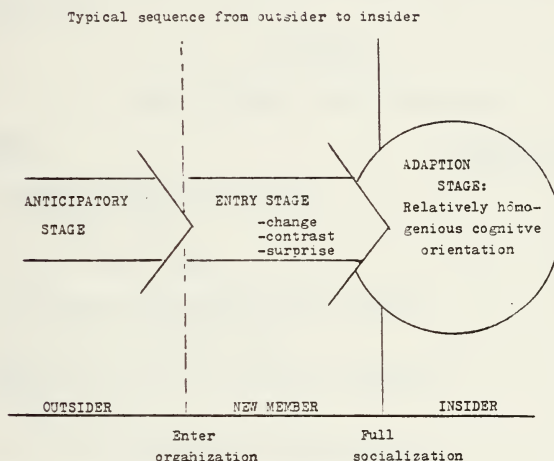
YEARS OF SERVICE	LOW	HIGH	YEARS OF SERVICE	LOW	HIGH
4	0	1	10	2	2
5	2	1	11	1	0
6	1	0	12	0	1
7	3	0	13	0	1
8	2	3	17	1	0
9	1	0	18	0	1

C. SOCIALIZATION RESPONSES

Now we turn to the interview data. The reader is reminded that these responses are the result of open-ended questioning of the participants by this researcher. For each respondent, this researcher listed those responses which pertained to the socialization process. These responses were then evaluated as to the category into which they should be placed: adaption, entry, or anticipation. This categorization was done subjectively by this researcher based on the context in which the respondent had made each response. Appendix A shows the basic questions used in the interviews. The individual interviews were analyzed for statements relevant to the socialization process. Identical or similar responses were combined into one representative response. These representative responses were then assigned to one of the three stages of the socialization models: Anticipatory stage, entry stage, adaption

stage. The entry stage responses were further sub-divided into the three elements of the entry model: change, contrast, and surprise. Figure 4 below shows the relationship between the socialization stages.

FIGURE 4



The SURPRISE element of the entry model typically generates sense making or coping responses in the individual. Here the subject utilizes past experiences and prior knowledge as tools for learning the behavioral competencies needed to function in the new culture. Evidence of such responses was sought and recorded under sense making. Finally, response indications of either role-related learning or culture learning were recorded. The results of the categorization of the interview responses are displayed in the tables of Appendix D.

1. Anticipatory Stage.

Prior to entering the Navy Officer Corps, these respondents had ideas and perceptions about what the coming situation--being a Navy officer--would be like. In Table I, Appendix D, are displayed responses which indicate the nature of this anticipation. These responses are displayed below in Figure 5.

FIGURE 5
ANTICIPATORY STAGE RESPONSES

<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Things will not be as bad as I have heard	10
2. I can do the job	9
3. I will get assistance from Blacks (officers and enlisted)	6
4. Commission will be path to middle class	4
5. I will get guidance from seniors	3
6. There will be more freedom	3
7. I will have in-depth discussions with White officers	2
8. I will see the world	1
9. Navy will be highly professional	1

The responses cover a wide range of areas from travel, "I will see the world," to money, "commission will be a path to the middle class." Several of the respondents mentioned that they anticipated being able to get assistance, if needed, from fellow Blacks. Nine of the respondents stated in one

form or another than they anticipated no difficulty in handling the duties and responsibilities of an officer. ("I can do the job.") The most frequent response relative to the anticipatory stage was that the respondents felt things would not be as bad in the Navy Officer Corps as he had heard they would be. Ten respondents gave this or a similar response. Other areas anticipated by the respondents included having honest discussions with White officers and getting career guidance from seniors.

2. Entry Stage

The entry or encounter stage--when the outside becomes a new member of an organization--is of course the most complex and dynamic part of the transition. In the socialization model the entry stage contains three elements each of which impacts upon the new member in some manner.

a. CHANGE.

Change is defined as the objective difference between the old and the new situation--the difference between not being a Navy officer and being a Navy officer. Responses around this element reflect things which are usually knowable in advance of entering the organization.

The most commonly noted CHANGE response made by this sample was that they found that they were the only Black officer at their command. Another high response was the statement that the job of being an officer requires aggressiveness.

The CHANGE responses are listed in Table IIA, Appendix D, and are shown below in Figure 6.

FIGURE 6
ENTRY STAGE

<u>CHANGE RESPONSES</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Usually only one Black officer	12
2. The job (being officer) requires aggressiveness	11
3. I will receive written evaluations	5
4. I make more money	4

b. Contrast.

Things the respondent had not anticipated noticing--the officers in this sample stated that the lack of peer guidance caught their attention. The feeling that there is covert racism was also commented upon by many of the sample (9).

Five of the respondents stated that they felt they had to be constantly on guard against Whites and Blacks. Four respondents mentioned that they felt they had to be careful in dealing with Black enlisted men. Figure 7 below shows the CONTRAST responses.

FIGURE 7
ENTRY STAGE

<u>CONTRAST RESPONSE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. There is a lack of informal (peer) guidance	11
2. There is covert racism	9
3. I must be on my guard	5
4. You have to be care of Black enlisted	4
5. I felt ill prepared	3
6. Need to have career plan in mind	2
7. Blacks must be better than Whites to get ahead*	1
8. Blacks have a free ride to a point	1

c. Surprise.

The ENTRY element SURPRISE--the difference between what was anticipated and what was acutally experienced--showed the greatest energy as noted in Table IIC, Appendix D. The idea that Blacks must be better than Whites to get equal treatment was commented on by a majority of the sample while the lack of formal guidance and the need for sacrifice received heavy responses. A number of responses dealt with self-esteem--lack of self-confidence, injured self-esteem, and feelings of timidity.

*For this respondent, this was a Contrast statement.

The SURPRISE responses covered a wide range of issues as noted in Table IIC, Appendix D and as displayed in Figure 8 below. The most frequently noted response was the statement that Black officers had to perform better than White officers to get equal performance marks.

FIGURE 8

ENTRY STAGE

<u>SURPRISE RESPONSE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Blacks must be better than Whites to get equal grades	16
2. I got no formal career guidance	11
3. Much sacrifice required (time, energy, family)	11
4. I lacked self-confidence	6
5. I did not feel compatible with the ward room	5
6. The Navy does not want Black officers	4
7. I felt timid	3
8. Whites are insensitive to Blacks	3
9. Senior Black officers are not helpful	3
10. I was deliberately misled by my seniors	3
11. You can learn from senior enlisted	2
12. My self-esteem was injured by my seniors	2
13. Blacks have fewer opportunities to advance	1
14. The Navy is not very professional	1
15. I was excessively watched	1

d. Sense Making.

The coping or sense making responses noted in Table IID of Appendix D also covered a wide range. Many of the responses had to do with certain rationales concerning the Black identity group.

The suggestion that Blacks as a race are not as competitive as Whites was mentioned by seven respondents while the same number suggested that Blacks are not used to being aggressive toward authority figures--to stick to one's guns when he knows he is in the right.

Five respondents felt that there is a quote for Black officers. As a coping skill, five respondents stated that they do not associate much with White officers. (See Figure 9 below.)

FIGURE 9

SENSE MAKING (COPING) RESPONSES

<u>RESPONSES</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Old friends have changed	4
2. Blacks are not as competitive as Whites	7
3. There are bigots in the officer corps	4
4. I do not associate much with White officers	5
5. Blacks are not used to being aggressive toward authority figures	7
6. Black officers are representative of their race	2
7. Whites control everything	1
8. Whites are insensitive to Blacks	4
9. Whites are evil	1

10. Am I selling out to the "man"	1
11. No one wants to say anything negative to Blacks	1
12. I lack any common interest with the ward room	2
13. There is a quota for Black officers	5
14. Blacks are more moral than Whites	1
15. White officers do not understand Blacks	3
16. Senior Black officers snub junior Black officers	6

3. Adaption Stage

Table III, Appendix D, shows representative responses concerning the final stage of the socialization model:

ADAPTION. There were few responses in this category.

Responses here should indicate that the respondent has passed from newcomer to insider. The responses should indicate that the individual has internalized the norms and "culture" of the organization. The few responses in this category fail to give evidence that such internalization has taken place. Figure 10 below shows the adaption stage response.

FIGURE 10

ADAPTION STAGE

<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Old friends have changed*	1
2. You must be flexible/compromise	1
3. You must be competitive with your peers	5

* Due to the context in which this statement was made, this researcher felt it belonged in the Adaption stage response.

4. Role-Related and Culture Learning

Appendix E shows responses relevant to the content of the socialization process. Table I shows role-related learning responses while Table II displays representative culture learning responses. Of these last two categories, culture learning generated the highest number of responses.

The role-related learning responses noted in Table I, Appendix X, show that the members of this sample understand the means of surviving and advancing in this organization.

The culture learning responses displayed in Table II, Appendix E, reflect insightful understanding of the way things "really" work in this organization. These responses indicate that the sample has come to understand the "essentials" of this new organization--what is really important, especially in those areas dealing with survival. Figure 11 below shows the role-related and culture learning responses.

FIGURE 11

ROLE-RELATED AND CULTURE LEARNING

ROLE-RELATED LEARNING RESPONSES

1. Learn your job well by getting assistance from all sources
2. Try to qualify as early as possible
3. Aggressively seek out career information
4. Get feedback

CULTURE LEARNING RESPONSES

1. The ward room reflects White middle class values
2. Aggressiveness is rewarded
3. You must demand attention
4. You must demonstrate self-confidence
5. You must remain in the mainstream of things
6. Hard work and personal sacrifice are required as a matter of routine
7. You cannot be mediocre
8. Whites are resentful of successful Blacks
9. Blacks are assumed to be "slow"
10. Whites are insensitive to racial issues
11. You must remain visible...show that you are doing something
12. Performance is a major factor in acceptance.

These responses are offered here to give the reader the flavor of the role-related and culture learning responses given by the respondents. The number of individuals giving each response is not reported since each is a unique response and not an aggregate as are the other socialization responses.

IV. DISCUSSION

This study was conducted to examine the nature of the organizational socialization process as it impacts upon Black male officers. While it is certainly true that White officers go through a socialization process, the thesis of this study is that there may be barriers which cause this process to be especially traumatic for Black officers. These barriers, if they exist, have their origins in a variety of sources both internal and external to the Navy. In general, they are the result of a socialization process experienced by Blacks prior to entry into the Navy. Each sub-culture, Black or White, is subjected to unique socialization processes designed to make the member most compatible with other members of his own identity group. For a number of reasons, Blacks experience a socialization process which may not be fully compatible with the majority culture and tend to inhibit cross-identity group understanding and communications.

A. SUBJECTIVE EVALUATIONS

The subjective evaluations data listed in Table II, Appendix B, suggest that the subjects are relatively neutral in their reaction to what has happened to them thus far in the Navy. There is neither a large number of respondents voicing high satisfaction nor are there many who express deep dissatisfaction. This kind of result seems consistent

with what the current literature says concerning man's inability to be fully contented in most of the adult settings he finds himself in. It is interesting to note that, despite the relative neutrality about what has happened to them thus far, the majority of these respondents plan to stay in the Navy. Perhaps this is a function of their optimism about the future or it might be simply a mature acceptance of the fact that most pursuits in life do not offer full and complete personal satisfaction. However, a bit of caution would appear healthy here as we are dealing with a sub-cultural group who have been historically stigmatized and rejected by the White majority to the extent that after 361 years in this country they still find themselves occupying the lowest rung on the U. S. social ladder. What this suggests is that these men pain to make the best of what is preceived by them as a less than ideal situation.

In general, then, the subjective evaluations of this sample paint a picture of benign acceptance rather than mature optimism. What is indicated and supported by the data is that possibly insidious-type "hidden barriers" exist which are not obvious to White officers nor really obvious to many Black officers. These barriers probably act as counter-vailing mechanisms to the fully socialization of Black Naval officers.

B. CORRELATIONS

As mentioned earlier, the correlations fail to yield any statistically significant results which might be germane to the socialization process. The reader is reminded here of the small sample size ($N=30$) and of the recoding of the subjective evaluations. One could anticipate that with a larger sample these kinds of results--negative and positive correlations as shown in Figure 2--might have implications around the adaption stage of the socialization process in that they seem to deny what the literature suggests should be the case for fully socialized personnel.

With tenure, the insider, having absorbed the organizational culture, should receive positive reinforcement from being associated with the organization. These correlation results infer that this is not happening with this population. One of the more senior respondents remarked that he "would not recommend the Navy as a career for a bright young Black men. There are better things he can do." This indicates that the subjects probably feel that the young Black must pay too high a price for such reward he may receive as a result of naval service. Further, these results suggest that something is amiss where the socialization process impacts upon the careers of Black officers. The other correlation results listed in Table I, Appendix C, fail to shed any really relevant additional light on this area of inquiry.

C. CROSS TABULATIONS

While the cross tabulation results present a detailed breakdown of how the correlations were derived, these findings do not substantially aid in the search for socialization barriers. However, it would appear highly relevant to the future supply of Black officers that lieutenants (O3's) showed the lowest percentage of all grades surveyed, likely to stay in the Navy. If this is so, this drain could prevent the Navy from ever building a balanced CADRE of Black officers.

D. INTERVIEW CONTENT ANALYSIS

The content analysis of the interview responses relevant to the socialization process shows the extent to which the prevailing socialization processes impact upon the absorption of Black officers into the Navy's officer corps. The following is a discussion of the results of this content analysis. Appendix D contains the interview responses.

1. Anticipatory Stage

Most of the responses listed in Table I, Appendix D, are positive and optimistic in nature. In talking about the anticipatory stage--what the respondent thought things would be like in the Navy--there is optimism expressed in the statement that "things will not be as bad as I have heard." As noted in the literature, anticipatory ideas about an organization are developed in an individual through historical information that persons might have about the organization

and through inputs from other persons both inside and outside the organization. It seems that the men in this sample elected to disregard or at least to minimize the importance of negative information about the Navy and remain optimistic. When asked about why there are so few Black officers, many of the respondents talked about the poor image the Navy had in the Black community. This author recalls the strong bias against the Navy expressed by relatives and friends during the 1950's. Apparently there has been little change in the Navy's image in the Black community since that time. There are several possible reasons for this continued poor image: One such reason is that there are not enough Blacks who have served or are serving in the Navy espousing a contrary opinion--that the Navy is not unduly hard on Blacks. Another possible explanation is that the historical view of the Navy in the Black community is being reinforced by those Blacks who have recently served or are currently serving in the Navy. One respondent stated that "Blacks have no reference group in the officer corps." This writer feels that one of the great failures of Navy Public Relations rests on its failure to eradicate the negative historical perception of the Navy held by minorities.

Until the senior command level White Naval officers understand and appreciate the locus of the historical root of this problem, the young Black officer will be compelled to enter the Navy with trepidation and misgivings. How many

possible prime candidates for the officer corps that opt to not enter naval service as a result of this now possible historical misnomer is, as yet, uncalculated.

There is hope expressed in the statement that a "commission will be the path to the middle class." There is self-confidence expressed in the statement that "I can do the job." And there is optimism conveyed in the statement that "I will get assistance from fellow Blacks." From these remarks about what was anticipated, we develop a fairly positive picture of self-confidence, optimism, and high aspirations. We continue with the discussion of the analysis of the entry stage responses to see if any factors emerge which might unduly subvert this positive condition.

2. Entry Stage

a. Change Element Responses

The entry stage responses are contained in Table II of Appendix D and are subdivided into the three entry stage elements: CHANGE, CONTRAST, and SURPRISE. Table IIA contains representative responses of the entry element CHANGE-- i.e., objective differences between the old situation and the new setting. In this table, the most frequent response is the statement that the Black officer finds that there is "usually only one Black officer at his first command."

This statement has great implications when one considers what the literature tells us about the importance of identity group membership and the socialization process. The literature suggests that the more nearly alike is the

identity group of the new member and that of the organization into which he is entering, the more nearly will be the cognitive orientation of the newcomer and that organization. This similarity of orientation eases the socialization process. However, we have seen from the literature that Black and White Americans have, or tend to have, different cognitive orientations due largely to the wide difference between the Black and White experience in America.

(1) Isolation. There is another facet to the identity group issue that requires comment at this point. As noted in the literature, identity group membership carries with it a sort of built-in isolationism from other groups and an intra-identity group bond which also tends to exclude members of other identify groups from easy friendship. It is also pointed out that an identity group member becomes a representative of his group when dealing with members of other groups. All this tends to increase the difficulties associated with the socialization process for Blacks by reducing interaction between themselves and the White majority. As noted, during the socialization process the new member ideally seeks out others of his position and gets and gives feedback on progress and problems. However, the normal person, therefore, may be much more discriminatory--interact less freely with other groups--than the marginal person. These two opposing facts--the need to interact and the natural reluctance to do so--set up a definite tension for

the entering Black officer. These factors come into play again later in this study. Many times the Black officer is compelled by White rejection to seek psycho-social sustenance external to the group.

The reason this statement--"usually only one Black officer" is listed as a CHANGE response is that most of the men interviewed had attended predominantly Black colleges, grown up in predominantly Black neighborhoods, and identified strongly with the Black identity group. Being the only Black was a traumatic and somewhat fear-generating change from their former situations.

(2) Aggressiveness. The statement concerning the need for aggressiveness is an understandable and predictable one since these officers, along with their White counterparts, moved from the relatively non-aggressive environment of college to the highly competitive world of the junior officer. For the Black officer, aggressiveness takes on "new color" and is a part of Black identity (movement from Negro to Black, psychologically). Hence, when the Black fails to be assertive, his afterthought introspective type thinking is probably one of guilt and shame as he perceives himself as "Uncle Tom."

(3) Evaluations. The CHANGE statement concerning the written evaluations does belong here since there is a change from college grade sheets to the Navy fitness reports.

This particular change is innocent enough under this heading but has deeper implications in another category to be addressed later.

In the analysis of the CHANGE responses we see the emergence of areas around which barriers to socialization might be erected. We see that the Black officer is often the only officer member of his identity group at his command. We see also that written evaluation or fitness reports are a CHANGE element of some concern to these Black officers, whom American society has traditionally erected discriminatory barriers. It is therefore very trying for the Black officer to distinguish the real from the imagined, fairness wise, in his fitness report.

b. Contrast Element Responses

The responses in Table IIB of Appendix B show representative responses to the entry element CONTRAST--things the new member had not anticipated noticing. Here in this element there is evidence that the optimism and positive air of the anticipatory stage begin to fade.

(1) Lack of Guidance. The lack of peer guidance as a CONTRAST from the old situation appears not to have been anticipated as a problem but did emerge as one as these officers began their Navy tours. Recalling that one of the CHANGE responses dealt with the fact that these officers found that they were usually the only Black officer aboard their first command, and noting the normal reaction between

identity group members, it is not difficult to understand why this response was made. The question is, however, what are the implications of these factors on the socialization of Black officers? It would seem that one impact would be that these factors conspire to minimize feedback to the Black officer. Without feedback, the transition time from newcomer to insider is probably lengthened considerably.

(2) Racism. Those responses relative to "covert racism" were based on the respondent's subjective evaluations of incidents which occurred during the entry stage. One of the respondents reported that despite being "ranked number on by the command, I did not get assigned as a team leader (the traditional job assigned to the top performer)."

Another respondent tells of being benignly allowed to remain as an unqualified watch stander. Another offered the opinion that "the old school White officers are racist but would not show it." Whether these storeis and the others reported to this investigator are cases of real racism or are cases of misunderstanding, the perception remains in the minds of many of the respondents that there is covert racism in the Navy officer corps. Another response around this issue came from an officer with twelve years service. He stated that the "Navy HRM (Human Resources Management) program is geared toward the enlisted man only, and it does not even address problems of officers, especially, Black/White officer relationships as key elements in the command of multi-ethnic and multi-racial units."

(3) On Guard. The comments made in the CONTRAST table about having to be on one's guard had to do partly with the covert racism responses discussed above and partly with the Black officer's relationship with Black enlisted men. The opinion was expressed by a number of the respondents that Black enlisted personnel, either through a lack of understanding or through malice, can be a source of frustration for the Black officer. In most cases, this frustration stemmed from the over-reaction on the part of the young Black officer to the voiced concerns of Black enlisted men around the area of racial prejudice. Around this issue--racial prejudice--many of the respondents confessed to having gone off to champion some enlisted man's cause only to find that he, the officer, did not have all the facts or that the facts given to him were highly distorted. This sort of thing can be damaging not only to one's ego but also to one's credibility within a command. Such damage can have serious consequences for a young officer's career. Black enlisted men often possess highly exaggerated expectations for Black officers to meet and equally exaggerated notions of the Black officer's actual power to assist them.

(4) Preparedness. The unanticipated feeling of a lack of preparedness expressed by three of the respondents may have to do with their having developed an unrealistic understanding of what it is a Navy officer does. The dichotomous remarks that "Blacks have a free ride" and that

"Blacks must be better than Whites to get ahead" show the person-specific nature of this CONTRAST element of the entry stage.

(5) Summary of Entry Experience. Having discussed the responses relevant to the CHANGE and CONTRAST elements of the entry stage of socialization, we see a picture begin to emerge of the Black officer's entry experience: He usually finds that he is the only Black officer at his command. The consequences of this perceived isolation leads to a failure of the Black officer to get feedback on his progress and sets up a frustrating and tension-ridden atmosphere for the Black officer (and perhaps for White officers as well). There is a sensitivity around racial issues which can lead on the one hand to perceptions of covert racism and on the other hand to over-reaction to reported racial incidents. Additionally, but to a lesser degree, an unrealistic understanding of the demands upon an officer may lead to a feeling of lack of preparedness for some Black officers. Few Whites understand the juxtaposition of the Black officer as "the-man-in-between." He does not find universal social acceptance among Whites and is suspect if he gets too "buddy-buddy" with his own people.

c. Surprise Element Responses

Now we look at the final entry stage element, SURPRISE--the difference between what was anticipated and what was subsequently experienced. These responses are noted

in Table IIC, Appendix D. The element of SURPRISE can arise from the following sources:

1. Unmet or inadequately fulfilled conscious expectations.
2. Unmet of inadequately fulfilled conscious or unconscious expectations about one's self.
3. Unmet or unanticipated unconscious expectations.
4. Inability to forecast internal reactions to new experiences.
5. The condition when cultural assumptions fail.

We will divide our responses into these five sub-elements and examine the contents in sequence.

(1) Unmet or Inadequately Fulfilled Conscious Expectations About the Job. Conspicuous in this category is the response relative to the amount of sacrifice required of one to perform properly as a Navy officer. The conscious expectation that the duties of an officer would be less rigorous than the respondents found might be attributable to the Navy environment to which the respondents were exposed prior to their first duty station. For the most part that exposure was to ROTC or OCS instructors and not to the more rigorous continuous efforts required of shipboard officers. For the most part, the impression seemed to be that being an officer would mean a basic eight-to-four kind of job demonstrated by the officers at ROTC units or at OCS. While it is certainly true that these instructors work just as hard as do shipboard officers, most of what they do is out of the

view of the officer candidate and without his knowledge. A false impression is probably carried with the young officer to his first command.

A second comment pertinent to this category from one respondent was that he felt that "the Navy was not very professional." This respondent cited haircuts and shoe shines in support of his lament. This may be the result of unrealistic conscious expectation that the operating forces would maintain the same level of military smartness demanded in officer training programs.

(2) Unmet or Inadequately Fulfilled Conscious or Unconscious Expectations About One's Self. This category deals primarily with matters of self-esteem. The respondents had anticipated being aggressive and self-confident but later discovered the opposite to be the case. A lack of self-confidence and the feeling of timidity possibly resultant from all seniors being White and probably previous negative experiences with most Whites suggest that early in the entry stage the respondent's self-esteem and thereby his self-confidence was somehow diminished giving rise to these responses. With experience and maturity around role requirements, these feelings tend to diminish, but with time seem to resurface as indicated by the data on older officers.

(3) Unmet or Unanticipated Unconscious Expectations. From the responses in this category there seems to be an unconscious expectation around the issue of equality.

More than half the respondents stated that they felt Blacks must perform better than Whites to get equal fitness report grades. This is a difficult response to objectively assess. Unless one assumes a certain racial paranoia or real covert group cues, this response indicates an unfairness not consistent with the unconscious expectations of many of the officers in this sample. What impact this sort of thing has on the morale of Black officers is difficult to say. There will be those who enjoy the real or perceived challenge inherent in this response while there will be others who will tend to be overwhelmed by the implications attendant to it. One respondent stated that "Blacks cannot afford any scandal." Another stated that "every minor thing is used against the Black officer but the Whites can get away with a lot." Another respondent stated that "I do not reap the same benefits from my work as do the White officers." Whether these perceptions are real or imagined is irrelevant. It is probably a valid assertion that "that long held, intense perception finally affects behavior." In this instance, that behavior could be negative and therefore detrimental to ~~career~~ and performance.

Another response in this category of unmet unconscious expectations is that many of the respondents stated that they received "no formal career guidance" early in their career in the Navy. This response was centered around the actions of the respondent's department head or

some higher authority in the chain of command. By formal guidance was meant the setting up of career goals and the establishment of a plan of action to reach those goals. The respondents who spoke to this issue stated that they felt that they were "just drifting along" for the first year or so before realizing the importance of getting qualified and having a goal in mind. "No one ever talked to me about getting OOD qualified," stated one respondent. "I heard the other J.O.'s (Junior Officers) talking about what the department head told them but he never talked to me about any of those things," stated another respondent.

A final representative response in this category indicates an unconscious expectation of honesty from seniors. The respondents who suggest that they had been "deliberately misled" by seniors registered surprise that such a thing could happen. One respondent stated that he "was given a top 50 percent fitness report as an ensign and was led to believe by the CO that what that meant was that of all the officers on the ship I was in the top 50 percent." This respondent later had the fitness report amended. A second respondent reported that he was told by his department head that he, the respondent, "did not have to stand bridge watches if I did not want to. He (the department head) gave the impression that it was no big deal (not to stand watches)." This respondent had his promotion to lieutenant (jg) delayed because he was slow to qualify as

a bridge watch stander. Experiences of this type probably makes the subject untrusting of all future White seniors who form the "real" knowledge bank. This would possibly deprive him of even attempting to tap these sources at learning and promotion.

(4) Inability to Forecast Internal Reactions to New Experiences. The fact that 5 of the respondents mentioned that they did not feel compatible with the other members of the ward room suggest that the identify group factor inhibited an open and honest interaction between White and Black officers. This internal reaction to the new setting of the ward room was mostly unforeseen. Had such a reaction been forecast or anticipated, presumably the respondents would either have not placed themselves in the situation by not joining the Navy or they would have taken steps to reduce this feeling of incompatibility. Such an unforeseen reaction can be explained in terms of that area of the identity group culture which is least known to the individual--that part of his culture which is never consciously considered and of which he is mostly unaware. The failure to understand these "high context" elements of one's culture makes it difficult to consciously predict one's reaction to a new group or social setting.

The statement concerning the "insensitivity of Whites towards Blacks" as an internal reaction to new experiences stems most likely from the reaction to the

basically conservative atmosphere of most ward rooms. One respondent commented that "they (White officers) just don't seem to care about Blacks."

The feeling that their "self-esteem was injured by seniors" is a reaction to the insensitive manner in which some Black officer candidates were treated at OCS and to incidents aboard ship. In the OCS situation, all the Black officer candidates in one class were called before one of the senior officers and informed that "statistics show that only three of the five of you will make it through here--two of you will fail." This information was passed on to the respondent and his fellow Black officer candidates in an announced effort, on the part of the White officer, to be honest and candid. As an aside, the prophecy proved correct. Was this a self-fulfilling prophecy? The ship-board incident had to do with the perception that the White officers (the respondent was the only Black officer) always wanted to engage him in superficial discussions about sports or some other such topic but "never wanted to talk about any professional topics. It made me feel like they didn't think I knew about anything but sports." This situation might have been caused by the Black officer failing to initiate the proper signals to generate less superficial discussions or it might have been the result of identity group assumptions made by the White officers about this Black officer--they may have felt that superficial issues were all he wished

to discuss with them. Then too, sports is "safe" even across racial demarcation lines. The bottom line is, however, that the Black officer felt a decrease in self-esteem. Via "situational, cognitive distortion," whereby the dominant group "creates" the lesser member's reality, a Black officer may actively come to perceive himself as inadequate.

(5) Cultural Assumptions Fail. Responses in this category indicate a surprise to the respondent's cognitive scheme of things. It would appear that there are cultural assumptions in the Black community which suggest that one learns from superiors in the identity group while subordinates generally have little to offer. From the interview responses this researcher found that several of the respondents found senior Blacks not to be helpful in matters of career planning. One respondent reported that he "felt snubbed by senior Black officers," Another reported that he found senior Black officers "aloof and hard to talk to." The reasons for this sort of distant relationship between junior and senior Black officers, whether real or imagined, need to be examined but are beyond the scope of this researcher. However, in a discussion with Professor Chester Wright, some premises emerged that may possibly shed some light on this phenomenon. Professor Wright points out that Black senior officers must be extra careful that White seniors do not, via misconstruction, perceive them as showing "favoritism" to their own people at expense of White crew

members. Too close a relationship with Black juniors could be misinterpreted to the Black senior's detriment.

Several of the respondents found senior enlisted man helpful to them by offering encouragement and by bolstering their self-esteem.

The entry stage with its three elements, CHANGE, CONTRAST, and SURPRISE, brings to light several key areas which inhibit the smooth transition from new member to insider for the Black officer. We see that the officer is usually the only officer representative of his identity group. The consequence of this seems to be a lack of peer interaction to provide feedback and comradeship for the Black officer. This leads subsequently to the lengthening of the transition time from newcomer to insider. There can be no half-friendships or functions in social acceptance. Too often Black officers find themselves in the peculiar position of being shipboard or barroom friends who are seldom, if ever, invited into the White officer's home to meet his friends. To a sensitive and intelligent person, this has to have an adverse effect upon a relationship and his self-esteem.

The entry stage also provides evidence that the officers in this sample felt covert racism exists in the officer corps while at the same time there is a feeling that Black enlisted men can be a source of frustration for the beginning Black officer. There seems also to be an unrealistic view of what is expected of an officer, leading to feelings

of unpreparedness in some Black officers. Evidence is also provided to support claims of injury to self-esteem and of deliberate misleading by seniors.

The feeling expressed by the majority of the sample that Blacks must perform better than their White counterparts to get equal fitness reports has deep implications around the issue of the Navy's image in the Black community and subsequently impacts upon the future recruitment efforts, and the retention of Black officers.

In the analysis of the responses relevant to the entry stage, we discover both conscious and unconscious, obvious and hidden factors involved. Most of these factors have to do with sub-cultural or identity group assumptions which hamper the smooth transition from new member to insider for the Black officers. Here there is more likely to ensue a "clash of values" little understood by either the White or the Black "actor."

(6) Sense Making. As noted in the literature, the entry element SURPRISE generates in the individual a need to retroactively explain why things did not follow his or her cognitive map--why things did not go as anticipated. This explaining is termed SENSE MAKING and is accomplished using a variety of inputs including past experiences, predisposition to attribute causality to self, to others, or to fate, identity group cultural assumptions or interpretation schemes, and feedback from others. Table IID, Appendix D,

lists representative SENSE MAKING or coping responses reported by this sample. It is important to note that these responses represent an attempt on the part of the respondents to maintain a balance in their psychological fields which have suffered some distortion during the entry or encounter stage of socialization into the Navy. Things happened during this stage which needed to be internally explained. It is further important to understand that these responses have become part of the respondent's cognitive "script" or map explaining to him how things work. This cognitive script forms the basis for future relationships. This updated Cognitive map goes essentially unchanged until somethings "out of the ordinary" happens to challenge this cognitive understanding--only then does updating or change to this internal orientation occur.

Several of these responses are benign and offer no barriers to organizational socialization. Others are, however, extremely negative in their connotation and can only detract from smooth relations.

3. Adaption Stage

Having passed through the entry stage, the new member supposedly is sufficiently socialized into the new organization and may now be called an insider. In the ideal situation, the newcomer internalizes the organization's historical image of itself and, as an insider, projects that image as a representative of the organization. The insider has not only

learned his new role as an organization member, but has also absorbed the culture of that organization. Too often, according to the data, this does occur only to be dashed upon the rocks by negative relationships with White fellow officers.

Successful adaption is difficult to assess since much of the evidence is internal to the individual. External evidence of adaption such as shared vocabulary, while easy to note, is not sufficient to say an individual is fully adapted. The key to full adaption is for the individual to honestly share the cognitive orientation of the new organization. This researcher found little evidence that the respondents in this sample have embraced the deeper Navy internal orientation. Table III, Appendix D, shows the responses noted for the adaption stage. This is probably due to lack of positive reinforcement which in turn probably derives from the inability to close the "social-gulf" between Black and White officers.

4. Role-Related and Culture Learning

Evidence that the officers in this sample have learned the rules of the Navy game including both role-related items and cultural items can be seen from the responses in Tables IV and V of Appendix D. The responses in Table V represent the way in which these officers view the culture of the Navy. Yet, as mentioned above, there is little evidence that these officers have internalized many

of these cultural elements. Whether the responses under culture learning are truly representative of the culture of the Navy is somewhat immaterial. The officers of this sample perceive the Navy culture to be as noted in Table V, Appendix D, and appear not to have internalized many of these elements. Why, should be the source of future inquiry as it is extremely germane to the future recruitment and retention of Black officers.

V. CONCLUSION

Prior to the Negro Revolt (forerunner of the widespread emergency of Black identity) of the 1960's, the road to success for many Negro Americans was assumed to be in the emulation of Whites not only in dress patterns, speech, and visible demeanor but also by the acceptance and espousal of majority-culture, defined values and norms. Many Blacks even tried bleaching their skins and straightening their hair with harsh chemicals. It is ironic that the first Black millionaire was Madam C. J. Walker who invented the "Straightening comb." In order to succeed, Negroes were told to get an education and to behave as much like Whites as possible. This has far too often turned out to be an illusionary bone dangled in front of Black America by White men. It was the realization of this that gave final impetus to the "Negro Revolt." The reason for this ambiguous situation for Negro Americans has to do with what is generally termed the "Black Experience" in America.

Those who followed this formula for success essentially were Black in appearance only while cognitively they tended to be more White than many Whites were. The unkind term applied to these culturally marginal men and women is "OREO," as in the cookie of the same name: Black on the outside, White on the inside.

Since the events of the 60's and early 70's, Blacks have been increasingly reluctant to accept the esteem shattering White-culture defined success formula of the pre-60's era and have sought to maintain their racial identity by turning more realistically to their African roots as opposed to the ridiculous acts involved in trying to identify with White European roots pursued earlier. While this new situation is generally true for Blacks in the American society at large, it is also more likely to be true for the young Black man entering the officer corps of the Navy.

Today's professional Black men are more closely attuned to the larger Black community and are less inclined to deny their racial identity group as a means of succeeding. Essentially, today's Blacks are more "normal" and less "marginal" in a cultural sense than their predecessors. This research examines the socialization phenomenon as it impacts upon these Black officers. Blacks have refused to continue the frustrating existence whereby they were formally forced to live with one foot in the Black ethos and the other in the White. Implicit here is the fact that Blacks are defining themselves rather than waiting at banquet of life like beggars waiting for White America to define them as a people.

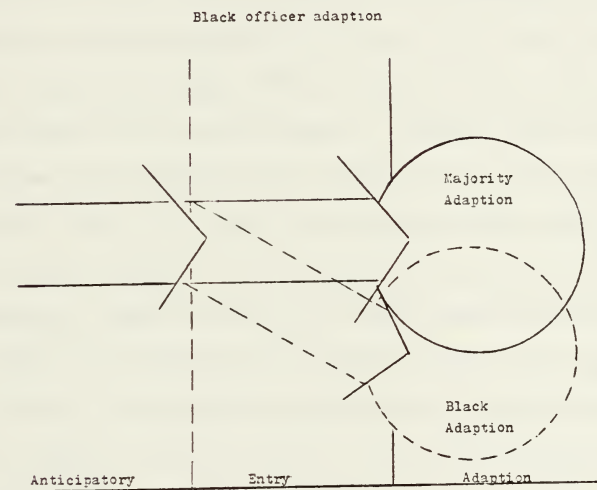
The evidence provided by this research suggests that the thesis is basically true: Black officers experience a more traumatic socialization process upon entering the Navy

than do their White peers due to certain differences between the broader Black and White sub-cultural socialization process and possibly the traditionally held perception of Whites that Blacks are inferior. There is nothing to suggest that one process is superior to another. The very fact that the processes differ leads to the creation of tension between the two groups since dissimilar orientations develop which lead to a natural tendency away from easy mutual interaction. This tension causes excessive trauma during the critical entry stage for Black officers since the nature of this tension tends to deny Black officers access to peer feedback, career relevant information, and the comradeship necessary for full group membership.

The real problem is a failure on the part of both Blacks and Whites to understand the historical, political and cultural dynamics at work which tend to isolate them from each other. An additional consequence of this lack of interaction is the development of unchallenged cognitive rationales or coping responses in Blacks--and perhaps in Whites--which may be false and may only serve to reinforce misconceptions developed during the initial encounter stage. The results of this research suggest that there are barriers to the full acculturation of Blacks into the Navy officer corps and that these barriers, as noted above, are too often hidden from both Blacks and Whites.

The interview results suggest that Black officer are not adapting in the classical sense but may be forming a sub-group of differently adapted individuals. (See Figure 12 below.) This cannot be stated categorically, however, without comparison of adaption data for White officers of the same grade and age as this sample.

FIGURE 12



A fact which must be directly addressed by both groups is the fact that Blacks and Whites not only look different from each other but that they come from differing cultural

milieus which conditions and socializes them to hold and respond to differing cognitive understanding. These differences make understanding and honest communication between the two groups difficult to achieve, as the communication channel is full of the noises generated by historical, social and political forces which this country seems unable or unwilling to change positively.

Research in the area of cross-cultural understanding has been largely centered around cultures which differ more radically from each other than do the various sub-cultural elements within the United States. Perhaps there is a feeling that the "melting pot" theory will erase whatever differences there are among the various ethnic and racial groups in this country. To believe this way is a dangerous self-delusion, especially in this era when minorities no longer aspire to emulate the majority view (don't wish to get in the pot nor melt) but actively pursue their own cultural identity without regard to majority imagery or approval of their minority culture.

This paper deals with the dynamics around Black and White interactions. The same problems or variations on them as noted here will most certainly arise as females, Chicanos, American Indians and other minority groups enter the Navy officer corps in greater and greater numbers as they surely must in keeping with the general United States demographic trends and the nation's position on equality.

A. RECOMMENDATIONS

If the Navy is truly committed to the accession of and retention of minority group officers, this researcher recommends the following minimum actions:

1. Continue research into the area of cross-cultural interactions.
2. Make the officer corps, both majority and minority members, more culturally literate through education programs designed for officer training.
3. All White officers will, of necessity, have to be made sensitive to the special need of minority officers not to be isolated early in their Navy careers. This could be accomplished through informal means such as informal discussions at Planning Board for Training meetings. There should be no formal, required training session in these matters as such approaches are normally met with resistance and can lead to increased polarization on both sides.
4. Minority officers must be made acutely aware that it is to their advantage to make every effort to minimize tensions between themselves and the other officers during the critical entry stage. This action can be accomplished through the distribution of a short "handbook" for minority and majority officers. Such a handbook would include information concerning the organizational socialization process as it impacts upon minority group members. Through such a handbook, minority group officers would come to realize that

their internal reactions to the entry experience is not unique. These officers might further come to recognize the nature of the majority group's reaction to new members who are minorities.

5. Finally, it must be remembered that we are dealing with intelligent, rational people who need only to be made aware of the problem areas addressed in this paper to take the appropriate actions. Many of the barriers noted here resulted from a lack of awareness on one or both sides. Possibly ignorance has played as much a part in the failure to integrate Black officers, fully, as any historical and/or traditional malice. Above all, the time grows short whereby this country cannot any longer afford the luxury of Black/White animosities in its armed forces.

B. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

1. This study was conducted using a small sample size and was restricted to Black male Navy officers in the grades of O2 through O4. A more comprehensive investigation might be undertaken to include O1's and O5's and above.

2. Another area which needs examining is that of female officer socialization. For the female, like the Black male, there exists a pre-entry stage socialization process which develops in the female a cognitive awareness which may tend to be quite different from the White male view of things. Such differences, as in the case of Black males addressed

in this paper, can lead to the formation of barriers to the absorption and retention of females into the Navy Officer Corps.

3. A more complete study in the area of minority socialization might include a comparison of the majority and minority socialization processes as they pertain to entry into the Navy Officer Corps.

4. Longitudinal studies of acculturation and performance evaluation might also indicate those career points which seem especially difficult for minority groups to successfully pass.

APPENDIX A

TABLE I

INTERVIEW INSTRUMENT

1. Pre-interview

"We are going to talk for about an hour about the socialization process which black officers experience during their time in the Navy. By socialization I mean the process by which we learned the ways of the Navy society well enough to function within it and become part of it."

Is that clear to you?

Your responses during this interview will be held in strict confidence. Do you have any questions before we begin?

A. Introduce self and give some background

B. Ground rules

1. Honest/candid answers

2. Responses will be confidential

C. Respond to any questions.

2. Conduct Interview

3. Post-Interview

A. Review confidentiality of responses

B. Answer questions

C. Thank responder.

Basic questions for the interview:

Age... Rank... Community ... Source ...

1. In general, how do you feel about being a Navy officer?
2. What are your thoughts about the issue of racial equality in the Navy? (Officer Corps)
3. In what ways, if any, do you feel that being a Navy officer impacts on your being black?...Any special reaction from family or friends outside the military?
4. Based on your experience, what do you feel are the most important things for a young black officer to know?
5. Why do you feel there are so few black Navy officers?
6. Are there any other things you would like to comment on?

Tour satisfaction.....(1 low, 5 high)

Will he stay?.....(1 low, 5 high)

APPENDIX A

TABLE II

LIST OF VARIABLE AND VARIABLE VALUES

<u>Variable Name</u>	<u>Meaning and Values</u>
AGE	Age in years
SOURCE	Commissioning source (01) Naval Academy (02) OCS (03) ROTC (04) NESEP (05) Other
GRADE	Navy pay grade
STAY	Will case stay in the Navy (01) Low probability (05) High probability
TOURSAT	How satisfied with the Navy to date (01) Low satisfaction (05) High satisfaction
YEARS	Number of years in the Navy
COMMUN	Navy community to which case belongs (01) Surface line (02) Supply Corps (03) Other

APPENDIX B
SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

TABLE I
OBJECTIVE DATA

Age	Mean	30.5
	Median	29.8
	Mode	28.0
	Max	39
	Min	25
Source	Naval Academy	1
	OCS	18
	ROTC	6
	NESEP	2
	Other	1
	Missing	1
Grade	O2	3
	O3	20
	O4	7
Years	Mean	8.96
	Median	8.20
	Mode	8.00
	Max	18
	Min	4

APPENDIX B

SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

TABLE II

SUBJECTIVE EVALUATIONS

Scale: 01 (low) to 05 (high)

	<u>Likelihood</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Will case stay in Navy (Stay)	01 (low)	4
	02	0
	03	7
	04	2
	05 (high)	17
	<u>Satisfaction</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Satisfaction with the Navy (Toursat)	01 (low)	1
	02	0
	03	16
	04	4
	05 (high)	9

Scale: 1 (low) or 5 (high)

	<u>Likelihood</u>	<u>Frequency</u>
Stay	01 (low)	11
	05 (high)	19
Toursat	01 (low)	17
	05 (high)	13

APPENDIX C
STATISTICAL DATA RESULTS

TABLE I
CORRELATION RESULTS

<u>Variables</u>	<u>Correlations (R)</u>	<u>Significance (P)</u>
AGE with STAY	-0.056	0.38
AGE with TOUR SATISFACTION	0.011	0.48
SOURCE with STAY	-0.099	0.30
SOURCE with TOUR SATISFACTION	0.243	0.10
GRADE with STAY	-0.066	0.37
GRADE with TOUR SATISFACTION	-0.208	0.14
STAY with TOUR SATISFACTION	0.386	0.02
STAY with YEARS	-0.141	0.26
STAY with COMMUNITY	0.052	0.39
TOUR SATISFACTION WITH YEARS	0.163	0.23
TOUR SATISFACTION WITH COMMUNITY	0.100	0.30
AGE with SOURCE	0.310	0.05
AGE with GRADE	0.460	0.01
AGE with YEARS	0.839	0.00
AGE with COMMUNITY	0.149	0.22
*SOURCE with GRADE	-0.105	0.29
SOURCE WITH YEARS	0.499	0.01
SOURCE with COMMUNITY	0.123	0.26
GRADE with YEARS	0.448	0.02
*GRADE with COMMUNITY	-0.104	0.29
*YEARS with COMMUNITY	-0.004	0.49
AGE = Age in years	YEARS = years of military service	
STAY = Likelihood of staying in Navy	COMM = Navy Community	
SOURCE = Commission Source	GRADE = Navy Pay Grade	
TOUR SATISFACTION = Satisfaction with Navy		

APPENDIX C

TABLE IIA

CROSS TABULATION RESULTS

WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY

		LOW PROBABILITY	HIGH PROBABILITY
AGE IN YEARS	25	0	1
	27	2	1
	28	2	3
	29	2	3
	30	1	2
	31	0	3
	32	1	2
	33	1	1
	34	0	1
	35	0	2
	36	1	0
	39	1	0

APPENDIX C

TABLE IIB

WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY

	LOW PROBABILITY	HIGH PROBABILITY
Nav. Cad	0	1
OCS	7	11
ROTC	2	4
NESEP	1	1
Other	1	1

APPENDIX C

TABLE IIC

WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY

		LOW PROBABILITY	HIGH PROBABILITY
PAY	O2	0	3
GRADE	O3	9	11
	O4	2	5

APPENDIX C

TABLE IID

WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY

		LOW PROBABILITY	HIGH PROBABILITY
COMMUNITY	Surface Line	7	11
	Supply	2	4
	Other	2	4

APPENDIX C

TABLE IIE

WILL SUBJECT STAY IN NAVY

	LOW PROBABILITY	HIGH PROBABILITY
YEARS OF SERVICE		
4	0	1
5	1	2
6	1	0
7	2	1
8	1	4
9	1	0
10	0	4
11	0	1
12	0	1
13	0	1
17	1	0
18	1	0

APPENDIX C

TABLE IIF

HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY

		LOW	HIGH
AGE IN YEARS	25	0	1
	27	2	1
	28	3	2
	29	4	1
	30	1	2
	31	1	2
	32	3	0
	33	1	1
	34	0	1
	35	1	1
	36	0	1
	39	1	0

APPENDIX C

TABLE IIG

HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY

		LOW	HIGH
SOURCE	NAV. CAD	1	0
	OCS	11	7
	ROTC	3	3
	NESEP	0	2
	Other	1	1

APPENDIX C

TABLE IIH

HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY

		LOW	HIGH
PAY GRADE	O2	1	3
	O3	13	7
	O4	4	3

APPENDIX C

TABLE II.I

HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY

	LOW	HIGH
COMMUNITY		
SURF. LINE	11	7
SUPPLY	3	3
Others	3	3

APPENDIX C

TABLE IIJ

HOW SATISFIED WITH NAVY

		LOW	HIGH
	4	0	1
YEARS	5	2	1
OF	6	1	0
SERVICE	7	3	0
	8	2	3
	9	1	0
	10	2	2
	11	1	0
	12	0	1
	13	0	1
	17	1	0
	18	0	1

APPENDIX D

SOCIALIZATION RESPONSES

TABLE I

ANTICIPATORY STAGE

<u>Response</u>	<u>Number of Responders</u>
1. Navy will be highly professional	1
2. There will be more freedom	3
3. Commission will be path to middle class	4
4. I will get guidance from seniors	3
5. I will have in-depth discussions with white officers	2
6. I will get assistance from blacks (officers and enlisted)	6
7. I will see the world	1
8. I can do the job	1
9. Things will not be as bad as I have heard	10

APPENDIX D

TABLE IIA

ENTRY STAGE

Change ... Objective difference between the old situation and the new setting.

Evidence ... New location, job description, prerequisites.

<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. I make more money	4
2. Usually only one Black officer	12
3. The job (being officer) requires aggressiveness	11
4. I will receive written evaluations	5

APPENDIX D

TABLE IIB

ENTRY STAGE

Contrast ... The emergence within a perceptual field of noticed features against the general background. Not, for the most part, knowable in advance. Subjective. Person specific.

Evidence ... (Had not thought he would notice these aspects of the new situation.) The absence of windows; the way people dress.

<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Blacks have a free ride to a point	1
2. I felt ill prepared	3
3. Need to have career plan in mind	2
4. Blacks must be better than Whites to get ahead	1
5. I must be on my guard	5
6. There is covert racism	9
7. You have to be careful of Black enlisted	4
8. There is a lack of informal (peer) guidance	11

APPENDIX D

YABLE IIC

ENTRY STAGE

Surprise ... The difference between anticipated and subsequent experience. Can be positive or negative.

1. Unmet or under fulfilled conscious expectations (job).
2. Unmet or under fulfilled conscious or unconscious expectations about self.
3. Unmet or unanticipated unconscious expectations.
4. Inability to forecast internal reactions to new experiences.
5. Cultural assumptions fail.

<u>RESPONSE</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Blacks must be better than Whites to get equal grades	16
2. I felt timid	3
3. The Navy is not very professional	1
4. Blacks have fewer opportunities to advance	1
5. I got no formal career guidance	11
6. I lacked self-confidence	6
7. I did not feel compatible with the ward room	5
8. Much sacrifice required (time, energy, family)	11
9. You can learn from senior enlisted	2
10. Whites are insensitive to Blacks	3
11. My self-esteem was injured by my seniors	2
12. Senior Black officers are not helpful	3
13. I was deliberately misled by my seniors	3
14. I was excessively watched	1
15. The Navy does not want Black officers	4

APPENDIX D

TABLE IID

SENSE MAKING (COPING) RESPONSES

<u>RESPONSES</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Old friends have changed	4
2. Blacks are not as competitive as whites	7
3. There are bigots in the officer corps	4
4. I do not associate much with white officers	5
5. Blacks are not used to being aggressive toward authority figures	7
6. Black officers are representative of their race	2
7. Whites control everything	1
8. Whites are insensitive to blacks	4
9. Whites are evil	1
10. Am I selling out to the "man"	1
11. No one wants to say anything negative to blacks	1
12. I lack any common interest with the ward room	2
13. There is a quote for black officers	5
14. Blacks are more moral than whites	1
15. White officers do not understand blacks	3
16. Senior black officers snub junior black officers.	2

APPENDIX D

TABLE III

ADAPTION STAGE

<u>RESPONSES</u>	<u>NUMBER OF RESPONDERS</u>
1. Old friends have changed	1
2. You must be flexible/compromise	1
3. You must be competitive with your peers	5

APPENDIX D

TABLE IV

ROLE-RELATED LEARNING

RESPONSE

1. Learn your job well by getting assistance from all sources
2. Try to qualify as early as possible
3. Aggressively seek out career information
4. Get feedback.

APPENDIX D

TABLE V

CULTURE LEARNING

RESPONSES

1. The ward room reflects white middle class values
2. Aggressiveness is rewarded
3. You must demand attention
4. You must demonstrate self-confidence
5. You must remain in the mainstream of things
6. Hard work and personal sacrifice are required as a matter of routine
7. You cannot be mediocre
8. Whites are resentful of successful blacks
9. Blacks are assumed to be "slow"
10. Whites are insensitive to racial issues
11. You must remain visible--show that you are doing something
12. Performance is a major factor in acceptance.

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